

EXHIBIT “F”

The Clerk read as follows:

"Mr. Phillips hoped the Senate's amendment of the reconstruction plan would meet with an ignominious defeat, and that Massachusetts would reject it. He would welcome every Democrat and copperhead vote to help its defeat. He would go a step further and said, I hope that the Republican party if it goes to the polls next fall on this basis, will be defeated. If this is the only thing that the party has to offer, it deserves defeat. The Republican party to-day seeks only to save its life. God grant that it may lose it!"

* * * * *

"The Republicans go to the people in deceit and hypocrisy, with their faces masked and their convictions hid; I hope to God they will be defeated! I want another serenade, not only to uncover the hidden sentiments of a Cabinet, but to smoke out the United States Senate, that we may see how many of them range by the side of Sumner, Ben. Wade, Judge Kelley, and Thad. Stevens."

Mr. HARDING, of Kentucky. Ay, sir, some of the men named there have since given way and fallen, and are no longer on Phillips's loyal list. As I said, sir, I am not reading southern testimony, or the testimony of copperheads; but from this great northern light, the man who has done more for the Republican party than any other man in the country. He was raised among them; he has affiliated with them; and he cannot be deceived as to their purposes. He charges that this Republican party is going before the country wearing a mask of hypocrisy, with its visage masked and that its object is not to amend the Constitution, but, as Senator SHERMAN says, to save the life of the Republican party; and he says, "God grant they may lose it!" Now, sir, I cannot call in question such authority as this. He must know what he is talking about, and I have had read to you what he says.

[Here the hammer fell.]

Mr. STEVENS. I now, sir, move the previous question.

The previous question was seconded and the main question ordered.

RECONSTRUCTION —AGAIN.

Mr. STEVENS. Mr. Speaker, I do not intend to detain the House long. A few words will suffice.

We may, perhaps, congratulate the House and the country on the near approach to completion of a proposition to be submitted to the people for the admission of an outlawed community into the privileges and advantages of a civilized and free Government.

When I say that we should rejoice at such completion, I do not thereby intend so much to express joy at the superior excellence of the scheme, as that there is to be a scheme—a scheme containing much positive good, as well, I am bound to admit, as the omission of many better things.

In my youth, in my manhood, in my old age, I had fondly dreamed that when any fortunate chance should have broken up for awhile the foundation of our institutions, and released us from obligations the most tyrannical that ever man imposed in the name of freedom, that the intelligent, pure and just men of this Republic, true to their professions and their consciences, would have so remodeled all our institutions as to have freed them from every vestige of human oppression, of inequality of rights, of the recognized degradation of the poor, and the superior caste of the rich. In short, that no distinction would be tolerated in this purified Republic but what arose from merit and conduct. This bright dream has vanished "like the baseless fabric of a vision." I find that we shall be obliged to be content with patching up the worst portions of the ancient edifice, and leaving it, in many of its parts, to be swept through by the tempests, the frosts, and the storms of despotism.

Do you inquire why, holding these views and possessing some will of my own, I accept so imperfect a proposition? I answer, because I live among men and not among angels; among men as intelligent, as determined, and as independent as myself, who, not agreeing with me, do not choose to yield their opinions to mine. Mutual concession, therefore, is our only resort, or mutual hostilities.

We might well have been justified in making renewed and more strenuous efforts for a better plan could we have had the cooperation of the executive. With his cordial assistance the rebel States might have been made model republics, and this nation an empire of universal freedom. But he preferred "restoration" to "reconstruction." He chooses that the slave States should remain as nearly as possible in their ancient condition, with such small modifications as he and his prime minister should suggest, without any impertinent interference from Congress. He anticipated the legitimate action of the national Legislature, and by rank usurpation erected governments in the conquered provinces; imposed upon them institutions in the most arbitrary and unconstitutional manner; and now maintains them as legitimate governments, and insolently demands that they